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ABSTRACT

This four-session discussion guide, intended for use by teachers, students, and the community at large, explores the ethics of intervening or not intervening in conflicts abroad. Inserts provide current information on conflicts in Bosnia, Haiti, North Korea, and Somalia where U.S. military involvement is at issue, but the flexibility of the guide enables groups to include other world conflicts in discussions. The discussion sessions in the program focus on four areas: (1) reasonable grounds for using military force; (2) U.S. lives placed in harm's way; (3) U.S. involvement in the cases of the globe. Each session contains brief background material, a full range of possible positions, and discussion questions. Session 1 also provides a summary of the just-war doctrine and an annotated bibliography. Session 2 includes further information with an annotated bibliography, and session 3 presents a summary of current wars and an annotated bibliography. Session 4 presents information about who is responsible for dealing with conflicts around the globe. A description of a typical study circle follows the sessions and includes an outline for a single study circle session. Information on organizing a study circle, leading a study circle, and suggestions for participants conclude the discussion guide. (CK)

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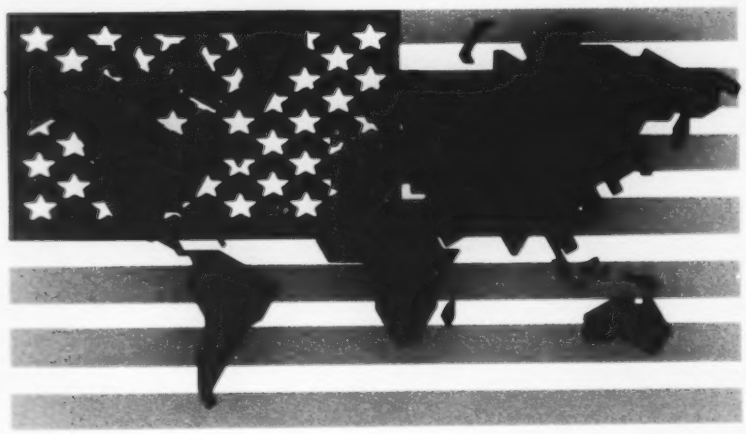

IN HARM'S WAY:

When should we risk American lives in world conflicts?

A Study Circle Program

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In Harm's Way:
When Should We Risk American Lives
in World Conflicts?

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Editors: Mary Lord and Martha L. McCoy

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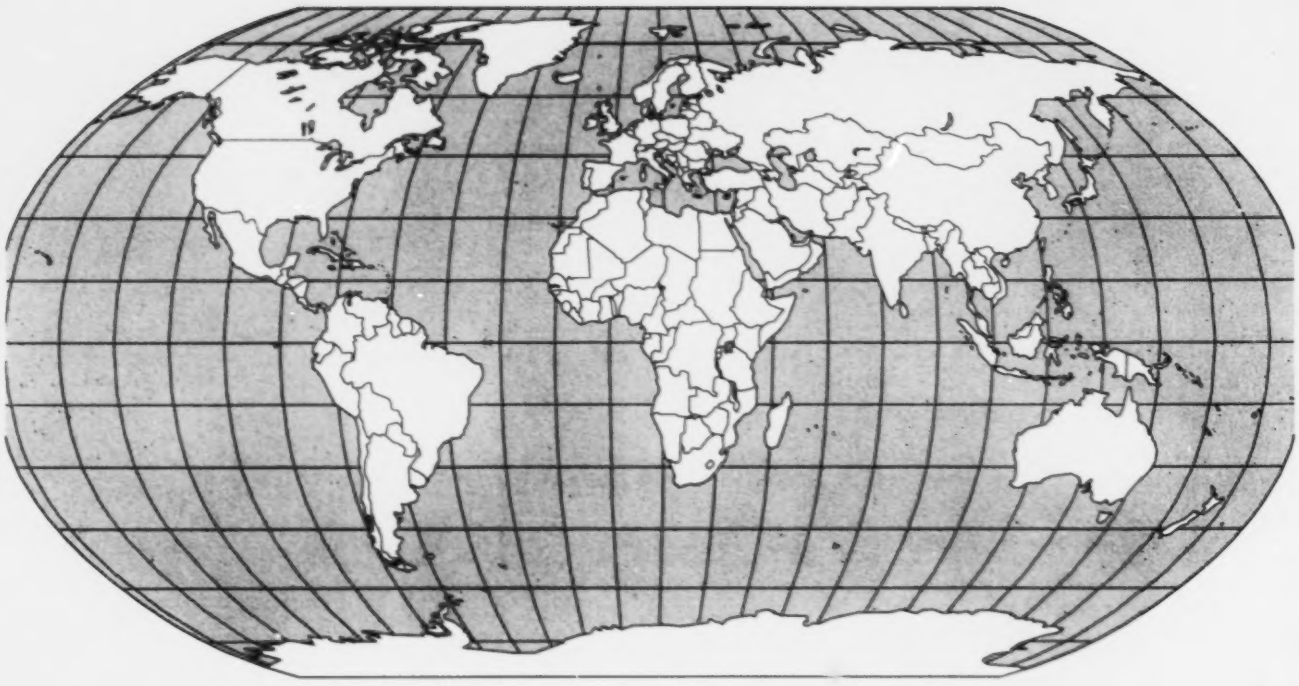

Foreword

When the Cold War ended, Americans felt a sense of relief. Many hoped that we would be able to give more attention to our economic and social problems here at home.

That hope has been only partially realized. Our close ties to the rest of the world, new challenges outside our borders, and our standing as the remaining "superpower" confront us with decisions about what role we should play in world affairs. As we define our place in the world, one of the most important questions we'll have to answer is "When should we risk American lives in world conflicts?"

We've already faced this question several times since the end of the Cold War - in the Persian Gulf, in Somalia, in Bosnia, and in Haiti. Each time, we have grappled with whether to send forces and what their mission should be. These and other world conflicts will continue to confront us with the question of when to risk American lives.

We need a national dialogue about this issue that will help us consider a wide variety of views in a thoughtful, respectful manner. And we need a dialogue that includes everyday citizens - the people who might be called upon to risk their own lives or the lives of their loved ones. The opinions of pundits and experts are resources for the dialogue, but the ultimate decision about whether we are willing to risk American lives belongs to all of us.

In Harm's Way: When Should We Risk American Lives in World Conflicts? can help you hold constructive, face-to-face dialogue. It is designed for use in the small-group, democratic, highly participatory discussions known as "study circles." Brief readings and discussion questions provide the basis for four discussion sessions. Also included are general suggestions for organizing, leading, and participating in a study circle.

We encourage you to join together with friends and neighbors, co-workers and classmates, or members of your union, spiritual community, or another organization, to engage in this dialogue. You might want to consider forming study circles in conjunction with groups that come from a perspective that differs from your own. Whether or not your views change as a result of the discussions, you will be more informed and better prepared to communicate with your elected officials.

If you need advice on conducting your study circle program, feel free to contact the Study Circles Resource Center. Also, please let us know how your program goes, and what you think of the topical material and general study circle advice included in this booklet. Your feedback will help shape future publications.

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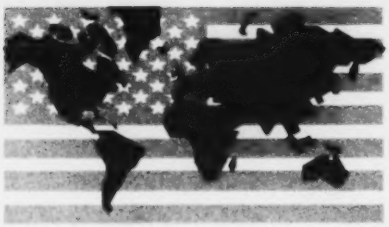

Overview of the Four Sessions

Each of the discussion sessions of *In Harm's Way: When Should We Risk American Lives in World Conflicts?* is distinct and self-contained, but there is a progression in the program as a whole. The sessions begin with a general discussion of what justifies the use of military force, move to more specific discussions about what the US should do, and conclude with a general discussion of who is responsible for intervening in world conflicts.

The heart of the program is the discussion of when to put Americans in harm's way, covered specifically in sessions 2 and 3. By including the more general introductory and concluding sessions, your group will have the opportunity to grapple with two issues that come up each time we have a national debate on whether to send our armed forces: the ethics of force and the responsibilities of other countries and the United Nations in dealing with world conflicts.

Session 1 - Are there reasonable grounds for using military force? focuses on the ethical and value questions that arise when a nation considers military action. Brief text and four positions provide a starting point for considering the most common arguments for and against the use of military force. Discussion questions assist participants in weighing the arguments and in considering how to apply those arguments to current situations.

Session 2 - When should we place American lives in harm's way? lays out the most common answers to this question. Participants have the opportunity to weigh the answers and re-examine their own views.

Session 3 - Current cases: Are these conflicts our business? gives participants the opportunity to apply the criteria of the previous sessions to four situations in which US troops are already - or may soon be - in harm's way. Information on current cases is enclosed at the back of this booklet.

Session 4 - Who is responsible for dealing with conflicts around the globe? broadens the discussion by presenting the larger question of who, if anyone, is responsible for intervening in world conflicts.

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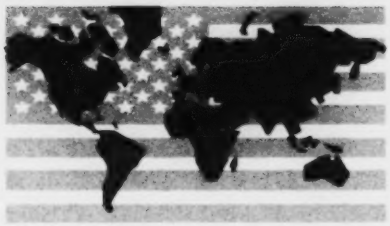

Session 1

Are There Reasonable Grounds for Using Military Force?

War* both fascinates and horrifies us. It involves terrible pain and suffering, but sometimes it seems necessary. At times we even glorify it. We know that "war is hell," but we also talk about "the last good war." Our everyday conversations, television shows, books, and films reflect the gamut of emotions that war can inspire. If we believe that we're fighting for a good cause, war can take us to new levels of national sacrifice and teamwork. It can also bring us to new levels of brutality.

The atrocities of others' wars often come home to us on our television screens. If we pay attention to our reactions, we may find that we are saddened, overwhelmed, sickened, indifferent, frustrated - or some combination of these responses. We may find ourselves thinking that armed intervention is the only way to stop these conflicts.

For some people, the conflicts around the globe justify military intervention; for others, they do not. For some, they may justify active, but *non-military*, intervention. Sometimes people hope that the mere presence of troops will make a difference - though military strategists warn that intervention is doomed to fail if troops don't have a clear sense of their mission. Making decisions about military force has never been easy, but in more recent times these decisions seem even more difficult.

The purpose of this session is to help you consider the question of what, if anything, justifies the use of military force. This may sound like an overly philosophical question when we face an immediate decision of whether to send our military personnel into harm's way. But how we answer it will greatly influence the actions we take.

Political justifications for war. How can we decide whether war is ever worth the price? In practice, political leaders offer many justifications, including:

Defense of one's own territory. Fighting to counter an invasion of one's territory is commonly accepted as reasonable grounds for war.

Defense of access to vital resources. The life of a nation depends on certain essential goods such as water, food, and energy resources (such as petroleum). Leaders have often argued that ensuring access to these goods justifies war. "Ensuring access" might entail, for example, fighting for the right to trade or to keep a river flowing through one's territory.

Defense of "values" or "way of life." National leaders have often declared that their countries' armed forces are fighting for freedom, or religious values, or human rights. What people value often varies from culture to culture.

Defense of others. Military intervention to come to the aid of a weak state that is the target of aggression is justified in international law under the principle of "collective security" when the intervention is authorized by the United Nations. It is less clear when the world can intervene by force to defend a group *within* a sovereign country.

Ethical principles as applied to war. Moral principles play a part in how individual citizens and policymakers think about the use of force. Most reli-

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* Notes on terminology:

1) In keeping with everyday language, the terms "war" and "use of force" are used synonymously in this program; both are used to denote conflict between nations carried on by their armed forces. In other more precise usages, "war" is used to denote only a formal declaration of war.

2) The term "reasonable" is intentionally ambiguous. Determining what it means to you and your group is partially the purpose of this discussion. The term can encompass moral judgments, considerations of national interest, or both.

gions offer more than one answer on the morality of armed force. Some strains of thought in Christianity and Judaism argue that fighting and killing are always wrong. On the other hand, other strains of thought in these same spiritual traditions hold that war can be morally justified under certain conditions. One doctrine which states those conditions, the "just-war doctrine," (see page 10) is open to a wide range of interpretations when applied to actual situations.

Another element that may be important to some people is the distinction between private and public standards of morality. For example, your judgment on whether you, personally, could participate in military action is a private moral decision. You may have a different judgment about whether our *nation* should use its military force. That is a public moral decision.

The issue of what, if anything, justifies force is not a straightforward one for most people. It is important to examine personal beliefs about whether the use of force can be justified, to listen to others' beliefs, and to re-examine all beliefs according to world situations that don't fit into neat categories.

This session provides a starting point for your reflection and discussion by posing four possible positions to the question, "Are there reasonable grounds for using military force?" We present each position in its best possible light, while realizing that we cannot capture the nuances of everyone's beliefs. Briefly, the four positions are:

Position 1 - The answer of pacifism: military force is always wrong. There is never a good enough reason for going to war. Even though there are many just causes that we should work for, even at great personal and national sacrifice, they never justify the intentional taking of human life. Peaceful approaches to solving conflict work better in the long run and affirm moral values.

Position 2 - The answer of preventive diplomacy: there are almost always alternatives to force. Even though we will have to use armed force at times, we should think of force as the last resort. If we seriously pursue alternative ways to resolve conflicts, we will face fewer crises in the future.

Position 3 - The answer of "just war": we should be ready to fight, but carefully judge the morality of using force. No matter how much conflict prevention we pursue, there will always be crises that call for our military intervention. In each case, we must seriously judge our motives before we decide to fight. Also, we must not use any military tactics whose consequences outweigh the good we are trying to accomplish.

Position 4 - The answer of military readiness: force is often necessary and useful in a dangerous, amoral world. Readiness to use force is critical to national survival. Sometimes we may have to sacrifice moral principles because of military necessity.

Four possible positions in answer to "Are there reasonable grounds for using military force?"

There are different ideas about which ethical principles, if any, should apply to our national decisions about war and peace. The following broad positions represent a range of viewpoints that influence our judgments.

Position 1 - The answer of pacifism: military force is always wrong. There is never a good enough reason for going to war. Even though there are many just causes that we should work for, even at great personal and national sacrifice, they never justify the intentional taking of human life. Peaceful approaches to solving conflict work better in the long run and affirm moral values.

War can never be morally justified because it involves the intentional taking of human life. Even though we are entitled to defend the basic rights we possess as human beings, there are moral limits to what we should do in order to defend those rights. Just as it is immoral to torture another person, even under the threat of being tortured yourself, it is wrong to kill, even under the threat of death. Killing is killing, whether done as an act of aggression or as an act of self-defense, whether by an individual acting alone or as part of a nation's armed forces.

There are always alternatives to violence. Non-violent resistance, which is not "passive" and requires great courage, is always the moral choice. Even if it does not immediately succeed in halting aggression, in the long run it will succeed. War, by contrast, breeds violence and brings more war. You do not stop killing by going to war.

Also, even planning for war makes war more likely. Even thinking of force as a possibility means that we must prepare for its use, which has subtle but very real effects on our society. The belief that violence is useful contributes to an acceptance of violence at all levels. Believing that we must remain ready to kill others also keeps us from realizing the common humanity of everyone around the globe, regardless of nationality. All acts of killing other humans require a distancing and dehumanization of the person killed. Modern war has an even greater potential for dehumanization than did war in the past, because in many ways it is "faceless": with modern weaponry, often soldiers don't have to come face to face with those they kill.

In brief, if we act morally we will create a more peaceful world in the long run. We must continually seek peaceful solutions and always preserve human life.

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Position 2 – The answer of preventive diplomacy: there are almost always alternatives to force. Even though we will have to use armed force at times, we should think of force as the last resort. If we seriously pursue alternative ways to resolve conflicts, we will face fewer crises in the future.

Military forces are designed for destruction and killing. The use of force, or even the threat of it, does not resolve conflicts. Instead, it often makes the situation worse. We should think of force as a last resort, an admission of failure. Instead, we should concentrate most of our efforts on addressing the *roots* of conflicts.

According to this position, there are almost always more effective ways than force to help resolve world conflicts. In most conflicts that escalate to violence and war, we can look back and see how we could have averted the violence. Successful outside intervention is possible without military force - for example, creative diplomacy helped to bring Israel and the PLO to the bargaining table. Some argue that if such imagination had been applied to Yugoslavia early on, the conflict would not have escalated. We need to learn from these situations and begin to apply the lessons.

This position would require us to spend more resources developing and carrying out alternatives to force, including:

1) diplomacy - including mediation, arbitration, or assisting in negotiations.

2) humanitarian aid - to save lives and to help create stability so that conflicts can be resolved.

3) economic sanctions - stopping trade to certain countries or regions can sometimes force leaders to stop aggressive policies or to come to the bargaining table, though sanctions often hurt civilians and so run counter to humanitarian aid.

4) limiting the sales of arms - current conflicts are waged largely with weapons supplied by the US and the former Soviet Union. The US is the largest arms supplier in the world.

It won't always be possible to prevent or help to resolve conflicts. As long as other nations have weapons and the will to use them, there will be times that we will have to resort to force. But - just as with preventive health care - if we make the effort to take preventive steps along the way, we will have fewer crises to deal with in the long run.

Position 3 - The answer of "just war": we should be ready to fight, but carefully judge the morality of using force. No matter how much conflict prevention we pursue, there will always be crises that call for our military intervention. In each case, we must seriously judge our motives before we decide to fight. Also, we must not use any military tactics whose consequences outweigh the good we are trying to accomplish.

Sometimes we must be willing to kill or to die for what we hold dear. But even in crisis situations we must carefully scrutinize our motives and actions according to moral standards. In deciding both whether to use armed force and what kinds of actions are legitimate as we fight a war, we must let moral judgments guide our actions. Otherwise, fighting in order to protect our highest values holds no meaning: we risk destroying our values in order to protect them.

Which moral standards should we use? While there is no common ethical framework in our culture, the just-war doctrine has evolved as a standard within many traditions. In most forms, it includes the following standards:

1) Is the cause just? Is this war necessary for self-defense (or the defense of allies) against unjust aggression?

2) Have we exhausted all alternatives to war?

3) Do we have the right intention? Are we going to war in order to establish lasting peace?

4) Is the overall aim in going to war sufficiently good to outweigh the anticipated evils of waging war?

Since war is a form of organized violence carried out for national goals, it is more complicated to evaluate in moral terms than individual actions. Still, we must try our best to do so. Just because there is no enforceable international law doesn't mean there are no standards; after all, most of us refrain from killing because we believe it is wrong, not because there is a law against it.

While the world has no common code of conduct, there are some restrictions in warfare that are almost universally agreed upon (for example, there are treaties outlawing the use of poison gas or germ warfare). This demonstrates that nations are capable of limiting themselves in the name of moral principles.

If we take seriously the need to apply moral standards to our use of military force, we will commit our forces only when we believe that force is justified, and we will use force only in ways that we have carefully examined.

Position 4 – The answer of military readiness: force is often necessary and useful in a dangerous, amoral world. Readiness to use force is critical to national survival. Sometimes we may have to sacrifice moral principles because of military necessity.

Nations may use high-sounding reasons to justify their actions, but in reality relations among nations are relations of power, unconstrained by moral rules. In such a world, weak or naive countries are frequently the victims of aggression; the only countries that survive are those that remain ready and willing to use force when survival calls for it. Besides, force is the only language that some people understand.

Whenever the national interest is in conflict with morality, national interest should take precedence. In the decision of whether to go to war or in decisions about how to use our forces once war has begun, we must think first and foremost about what is in our best interest; sacrificing any advantage due to overriding moral principles would only jeopardize what is important. This is especially true in the case of the US, since we have played a leading role in protecting freedom around the world. At times, the ends justify the means.

This position does not necessarily hold that there is no place for morality in policy considerations or that "anything goes." But it does state that we should never uphold a moral ideal to the point that what is in our essential interest is endangered; we should uphold moral ideals when it is practical to do so.

Once war has begun, even though standards of morality can be factored into our decisions about what kinds of force to use, they should never cause us to jeopardize our military objectives. Since we enter a conflict because we think that it is necessary and important to use armed force, we should use our military in the most effective ways possible. At times these means may coincide with what we would consider the moral thing to do, but when moral considerations would cause us to lose advantage or lose more of our own lives, we should instead do what is more effective. According to this position, then, the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were acceptable as means to gain vital military objectives.

We cannot afford to be weak or even appear weak. In a world in which aggressive countries often act without regard for moral standards, our only option is to do what we must in order to survive. The world would be a much more peaceful place if each country looked out for its own best interests and made sure that it was not so weak as to tempt aggression.

Discussion Questions for Session 1

1. What is most appealing and least appealing about each position? How does your thinking compare with the positions laid out in this program?

2. Every generation of Americans in the 20th century has experienced at least one war or armed struggle: World War I, World War II, Korea, Vietnam, the Persian Gulf, the Cold War. In addition, our nation has sometimes intervened in other countries (Grenada, Panama) or aided one side in a conflict. Which (if any) of these conflicts do you think were justified, and why? How did your experience with these conflicts affect your ideas about justifications for the use of force?

3. If we think that there is a responsibility to intervene militarily in order to protect human rights, should we intervene in all conflicts in which innocent people are being harmed? If not, how do we decide which to get involved in? How many atrocities are too many? Must there be mass starvation or mass slaughter before we intervene?

4. How do we decide that it's time for military intervention? Should it be used only after we have tried other means? How much attention should we give to aiding the parties in their negotiations? For what reasons do we sanction military force - to stop warring parties from killing each other and innocent civilians, to stand between warring parties, to enter the fight if we are attacked?

5. Should we get involved in internal disputes? For example, the United States intervened in Somalia, but we didn't intervene when Iraq dropped chemical weapons on its own citizens. Does this constitute a basic inconsistency? How important is the principle of national sovereignty? When, if ever, do humanitarian considerations outweigh rights of sovereignty?

6. Are there limits to what should be done militarily, even in the face of the most heinous atrocities? If so, what are those limits?

7. Are there any areas of agreement within your group about what, if anything, justifies the use of armed force?

A summary of the basic criteria of the just-war doctrine

The doctrine of "just war" that was initiated by the early Christian church and developed by subsequent theologians continues to be discussed as a possible guide for making moral decisions about war; this doctrine played a prominent role in the national debate that took place prior to the Gulf War and has emerged several times since then as we considered intervention in other parts of the world. Though many people had not heard of just-war doctrine before these debates, their thinking had been influenced by many of its ideas.

Just-war theory focuses on two issues:

Just cause for war - When does a nation have a moral right to wage war?

Just conduct in war - What restrictions, if any, does morality place on the means used in fighting a war?

Just cause for war

In response to the first question, the just-war doctrine sets out the following six conditions for a nation to be morally justified in going to war. They are "necessary conditions," which means that all of them must be met in order for a war to be a just war.

Nations are justified in engaging in war if and only if:

1) There is *just cause*. The nation must be acting either in its own defense or in the defense of its allies against unjust aggression.

2) There is *legitimate authority* to declare war. That is, those who declare war must have the authority to do so.

3) There is the *right intention*. The intention of those waging war must be the establishment and securing of long-lasting or permanent peace.

4) There must be a *reasonable probability of success*. There must be a reasonable hope of achieving the good ends that are being sought.

5) There is *proportionality between the cause for going to war and the means used in waging war*. The overall aim in going to war must be sufficiently good to outweigh the anticipated evils of waging war.

6) Going to war is the *last resort*. All peaceful alternatives must be exhausted before waging war.

Just conduct in war

Even if all of the conditions for engaging in a war have been met, the war itself may be unjust due to the types of actions it involves. In order for conduct in war to be morally permissible, two conditions must be met:

1) *The principle of proportionality*. The force used must be proportional to the military objectives. The condition of proportionality under the first part of the doctrine requires that the overall purpose in going to war outweigh the anticipated evils; here, proportionality refers to the use of particular force in relation to specific military objectives of winning the war or the battle. For example, the rape and torture of civilian women and children may demoralize the enemy and lead to a quicker end to the war, but would nevertheless not be justified according to this principle.

2) *The principle of discrimination*. That is, the use of force must allow for the distinction between combatants and noncombatants. According to this principle, it is permissible to undertake an action in which the deaths of noncombatants are foreseen as long as those deaths are not strictly intended.

Closely related to the requirement of discrimination is *the doctrine of double effect*. According to this doctrine, it is permissible to perform acts that have both good and bad consequences if:

a) The good consequences and not the bad are intended.
b) The bad consequences are not used as means to bring about the good result.
c) The good consequences are proportional to or greater than the bad consequences.

Annotated bibliography for Session 1

Bok, Sissela. *A Strategy for Peace: Human Values and the Threat of War.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1989.

Moral philosophy that addresses the question of war, especially in light of the existence of nuclear weapons.

Dellums, Ronald V. "Preventive Engagement: Constructing Peace in a Post-Cold War World." *Harvard International Review,* Fall 1993, pp. 24-27.

Dellums, the chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, argues that we need to switch our foreign policy focus from military to diplomatic efforts.

Dyer, Gwynne. *War.* New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1985.

A fascinating history of warfare and its technologies.

Elshtain, Jean Bethke. *Women and War.* New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1987.

A political philosopher makes the argument that our "war myths" - the male as "just warrior" and the female as "beautiful soul" - have influenced how we think of our personal identities, our moral reasoning, and our public decisions about the use of force.

Mandelbaum, Michael. *The Fate of Nations: The Search for National Security in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

A readable explanation of how several nations have tried to achieve national security and why they defined security in the ways they did.

Nolan, Richard T. and Kirkpatrick, Frank G. *Living Issues in Ethics.* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1982.

Includes a chapter entitled "War and the Quest for Peace," which discusses thermonuclear war, just-war theory, obstacles to peace, and efforts to achieve peace. Provides a list of suggested readings.

Payne, Samuel B. *The Conduct of War: An Introduction to Modern Warfare.* Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell Inc., 1989.

Examines the political, military, and technical dimensions of modern war.

Regan, Richard J., S.J. *The Moral Dimensions of Politics.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

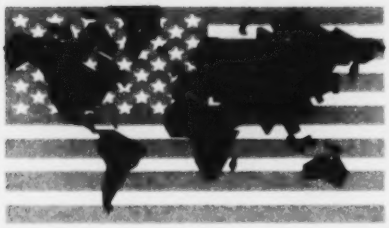
Chapters 6-8 examine the justice of conventional war, and of military intervention and support of revolutionary wars.

Sharp, Gene. *Gandhi as a Political Strategist.* Boston, MA: Porter Sargent Publishers, Inc., 1979.

This book examines the ways in which Gandhi used the nonviolent method to promote change; chapter 10 examines "types of principled nonviolence." Chapter 12 explores the relationship between morality and war.

Walzer, Michael. *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations.* New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1977.

A well-known modern consideration of just-war theory.



Session 2

When Should We Place American Lives in Harm's Way?

Although the Cold War has ended, the world is far from peaceful. In fact, there is a fresh outbreak of civil wars, government crackdowns, ethnic violence, and international terrorism. A recent accounting of these conflicts documented 29 active wars and many other smaller clashes (see page 31). The conflicts and the reasons behind them are unfamiliar to many Americans. We see the violence and the victims on our television screens, and want something to be done. But is there anything that can be done? And should we be the ones to do it?

America finds itself the sole remaining superpower in a changed world. We also find ourselves with more questions than answers: Do we have the responsibility or the right to intervene in conflicts around the world? When, if ever, should we use our armed forces to deal with these situations? When, if ever, should we put the lives of our young men and women at risk?

The purpose of this session is to help you explore whether and under what conditions America should be willing to use its military force to intervene in global conflicts. Even in very successful military engagements, there will almost certainly be casualties – both American lives and the lives of the people where our forces are deployed. Though military experts can give us informed opinions on the likelihood of success of certain military actions, it is up to the American people to judge when a cause or goal is worth the price of those military actions.

To help you focus your discussion of this issue, this session lays out four possible responses to the question of when we should be willing to put American military personnel in harm's way. They are not the only possible responses, but they include the values and beliefs most often expressed in our national debates – add your own responses to enrich the conversation. And, since they are not necessarily mutually exclusive, you may find yourself combining elements of more than one. Weighing these responses will help you and your group to grapple with what, if anything, is a worthy goal for the use of American force.

You may also find during your reflection and discussion that there are causes you believe to be worth personal sacrifice, the efforts of private organizations (religious groups or humanitarian agencies), or diplomatic efforts, but which should not, in your view, lead the US government to send troops abroad.

In brief, the responses to "When should we place American lives in harm's way?" are:

Response 1 – To protect our vital interests. According to this response, we should use America's military forces only when our own vital national interests and security are threatened.

Response 2 – To uphold humanitarian and ethical concerns. According to this response, we should be willing to risk American lives to stop genocide, end mass starvation, or stop other large-scale human disasters. Upholding ethical concerns may also include committing our troops to support international law and order.

Response 3 – To protect or restore democratic governments. This response argues that we should be willing to use force in order to ensure that democratic governments prevail.

Response 4 – Rarely, if ever. There is little, if anything, that justifies risking American lives in foreign conflicts.

Four possible responses in answer to "When should we place American lives in harm's way?"

The following broad positions represent a range of views that come up in our national debates.

Response 1 – To protect our vital interests. According to this response, we should use America's military forces only when our own vital national interests and security are threatened.

The United States has a right to defend itself and to protect its national interests. When conflicts in other countries directly challenge those interests, we may have to use force in order to meet those challenges. For example, during the Cold War we sometimes used force in order to contain Communism, in the belief that it threatened our vital interests. In the Gulf War, we believed that maintaining our access to oil, a vital resource, was in our national interest and that force was necessary to achieve that. In this new era we must carefully weigh what our vital interests are, and involve ourselves only in those situations - with the willingness to use force if it becomes necessary.

Examples of other challenges to our vital interests include the possibility of nuclear weapons spreading to outlaw states like North Korea, Iraq or Libya. These weapons not only threaten our allies but could threaten the United States itself. Also, we have a right to be concerned about the events in our own neighborhood. Civil war and instability near to our borders - in Cuba, Haiti, and Central America - affect us, primarily because of the large flow of refugees. In these cases, we should intervene to protect our interests and be prepared to use force if that seems necessary.

When its interests are not directly challenged, the United States should not use its military force to intervene in global conflicts. It is terrible to watch people kill one another, and we may wish that we could do something, but responses should be limited to private, non-governmental aid - for example, contributing to humanitarian relief efforts. When nations are neither our neighbors nor our enemies, America will only make trouble for itself if it gets involved.

This response would require the United States to:

- Clearly define what constitutes a threat to our security.
- Be capable of applying diplomatic and economic pressures to meet such threats, and of deploying and using military force when necessary.
- Stay out of conflicts that don't meet the test of national interest, regardless of the situation.

Critics of this response say:

- Some conflicts that may not seem to threaten our vital interests will - if left unchecked by outside forces - progress to the point where they do threaten our interests.
- The "vital national interest" is a notoriously ambiguous standard. It has been used to justify military involvement in almost every region of the world.
- This response ignores the interdependence of the world: if we help to uphold democracy or human rights anywhere in the world, we will make the world a better and safer place for everyone, including ourselves. America failed to understand the need for involvement after World War I, and helped pave the road to World War II.

Response 2 – To uphold humanitarian and ethical concerns. According to this response, we should be willing to risk American lives to stop genocide, end mass starvation, or stop other large-scale human disasters. Upholding ethical concerns may also include committing our troops to support international law and order.

In the anarchy that is following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, some particularly destructive conflicts have erupted. Ethnic and racial bigotry and prejudice have re-emerged and we are again witnessing genocide in the 20th century. Television has brought the reality of ethnic cleansing and its consequences into our living rooms. We cannot pretend we don't know what is happening. The faces of the victims of famine and civil war in Somalia and other places are also brought before us. We know of their plight, and we have the capacity and the responsibility to do something about these things. We cannot turn our backs on such evil and such tragedies and pretend that they have nothing to do with us.

Wherever possible, diplomacy, mediation and economic pressures should be tried first. Sometimes, however, all other avenues will be exhausted, and while we wait and talk, the victims die by the thousands. There are times when direct military action is necessary.

This response would require the United States to:

- Support international arrangements that would enable us to respond more effectively to such situations.
- Respond with military forces if necessary to support famine relief, to prevent genocide, or to prevent other large-scale human disasters.
- Train and equip the military to respond effectively to this kind of situation, including supporting civilian administration of disaster areas, law enforcement, and conflict management.

Critics of this response say:

- This would be impractical and expensive as a national policy. That is why we have never consistently intervened in such situations. For example, we intervened in Somalia, but failed to take action in the conflict in Angola.
- There are very few situations where outside military intervention, by the US or anybody else, can effectively deal with a situation fueled by ethnic, religious, or tribal hatred. Putting young Americans between warring parties only makes them targets.
- Our personal and our public responsibilities differ. Personally we should do everything in our power to help humanitarian efforts around the world, but it is not our public responsibility to use our military in this way. This is a job for agencies like the Red Cross, not the US military.

Response 3 – To protect or restore democratic governments. This response argues that we should be willing to use force in order to ensure that democratic governments prevail.

Democracy is spreading to more countries of the world, but it is still fragile. Tyrants in some countries have overthrown elected governments or prevented freely elected governments from taking office. We have a responsibility to do something to aid democratic forces and to even the playing field. Where diplomacy and economic pressure have failed to obtain results - as in Haiti - we should be willing to use US military force.

Experience shows us that democracies make better neighbors, stronger trading partners, and more reliable allies. With the collapse of the former Soviet Union, the strongest countries in the world are the industrial democracies. We should work with our democratic allies to strengthen and protect democracy and free markets, through collective military action if necessary. Just as US action helped lay the framework for a strong, democratic Western Europe and Japan at the end of World War II when they lay in ruins, we have the opportunity now to lay the foundation for a global framework of cooperating democracies.

Americans have fought successfully for democracy and democratic values many times in our history. Our support was essential to the success of democratic forces in the Philippines in overthrowing the Marcos regime and defeating several coup attempts. US forces defended South Korea from invasion in the 1950s. They were also essential in the defeat of Nazism in World War II, and in helping to protect and rebuild Western Europe at the war's end. Most recently, American military strength was critical in winning the Cold War. We should continue to be willing to use our strength to support democratic forces in other countries and to help ensure free and fair elections.

This response would require the United States to:

- Make clear that we are willing to support and defend democracy with military force if necessary.
- Withhold support from non-democratic governments.
- Provide support to democratic opposition movements.
- Train and equip US military forces to engage in appropriate intervention and provide necessary support to democratic movements.

Critics of this response say:

- America has supported many corrupt regimes in the name of defending "democracy." Like "national interest," it can be a cloak for misguided policies.
- Foreign military intervention by the US or any other nation is not the route to democracy.
- It is not up to us to fight for democracy in other countries. It must emerge as part of their own development.
- We do not have the right to involve ourselves in internal conflicts, no matter how good the cause.

Response 4 – Rarely, if ever. There is little, if anything, that justifies risking American lives in foreign conflicts.

For forty years, the United States shouldered most of the burden of the Cold War. Now the Cold War is over, and both democracy and free enterprise are spreading around the world. We should continue to encourage private business, cultural, and philanthropic organizations to be involved in the world. But we should not, as a nation, engage in foreign policy adventures. Hundreds of thousands of young American military personnel serve throughout the world. We should bring them home, not send them off to die for somebody else's utopian ideals.

Korea, Vietnam, and other conflicts far from our shores have claimed the lives of more than 100,000 American military personnel since World War II. Today, the vast majority of our military forces are devoted to the protection of other countries. Not one soldier, sailor, or airman is devoted solely to protecting the US at home, simply because there is no country threatening to attack the United States.

It is the duty of our government to protect American lives and property and to defend the Constitution. The government should not tax Americans in order to pay for needless military interventions, nor should the government ask our military personnel to risk their lives for our "international standing" or because we find it frustrating to watch television pictures of other people killing each other. It is not the responsibility of the American people to right all the world's wrongs.

American culture and ideas are spreading throughout the globe, a trend which should be supported. Our businesses, cultural institutions, and humanitarian and educational organizations should continue to be active leaders and participants in the new interdependent global market of business and ideas. But that kind of private leadership is only harmed by the government's military entanglements.

In sum, we should be allowed to enjoy the benefits of the peace we did so much to create. It's time the rest of the world solved its own problems without waiting for us to rescue them.

This requires the United States to:

- Reduce our military and foreign policy obligations so that we can better attend to our own business.
- Observe the world with "benign detachment."
- Support the efforts of private citizens and businesses who want to work abroad, provided they realize they do so at their own risk.

Critics of this response say:

- Like it or not, America is the world's leader, and if we do not play our part, someone else - with very different values - will fill the vacuum.
- We have spent enormous sums of money and many American lives to become the world's strongest nation and leader. It is foolish to abandon that just when we have won the Cold War.

Discussion Questions for Session 2

1. Brainstorm with other group members about the question, "What do you see as the greatest threats to US security?" Of each item on the list that the group generates, discuss what is at stake and whether military action would be useful in addressing it. Why or why not?

2. Of the responses to the question of when we put our troops in harm's way, is there one that comes closest to your particular view? Why? Are there any qualifiers that you would add?

3. What are the strongest points that you can make for each of the four responses?

4. What are the possible costs - in lives, riches, or values - associated with each of the responses?

5. What most influences your view on when to put our troops in harm's way - your experiences? your political beliefs? your ethical concerns? What most troubles you about your view?

6. The US has fought in several wars in this century; many other times the US has threatened to use force or made rapid military interventions. Which of those cases has most influenced your view of when to use military force?

7. Some say that the media, especially television, have too much influence on our decisions to put our troops in harm's way. For example, there was public support for sending troops to Somalia after the effects of the famine there appeared nightly on our TV screens. There was no similar call to send troops to other famine-stricken or war-torn areas of the world. Others might counter that TV coverage of the atrocities in Bosnia has not resulted in our sending troops. What do you think about the influence of the media on our decisions about whether to use force?

8. If you had a few minutes with President Clinton in order to make a case about when we should put our troops in harm's way, what would you say?

Annotated bibliography for Session 2

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Friedman, Thomas L. "Trick Question: In Foreign Affairs, Clinton Faces Test He Can't Study For." *The New York Times*, 19 December 1993, Section 4, pp. 1 & 3.

Looks at the uncertain foreign policy terrain the US will have to navigate in 1994, especially in the most troubling spots in the world - Russia, Bosnia, Haiti, Somalia, and Korea.

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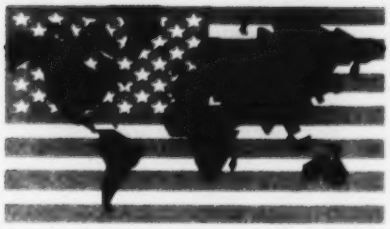
A chronicle of the foreign policy challenges the US faces at the beginning of 1994.

Wolfowitz, Paul D. "Clinton's First Year." *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 1994, pp. 28-43.

Asserts that inconsistency and uncertainty about the use of America's military force have been major flaws in Clinton's first year as President.



Session 3

Current Cases: Are These Conflicts Our Business?

Many conflicts around the world call for our attention. During any given year, we make several decisions about whether the United States should get involved in a conflict in some other country. The choices we make - to get involved, not to get involved, to use US military forces or not - say something about us as a nation and have lasting consequences for us and for others.

At times our involvement may take the form of diplomacy, aid, or economic sanctions, all of which will require our national resources and, therefore, national discussion. But when our involvement means the use of military force - whether on a mission we undertake alone or with others, whether in military action or a peacekeeping mission - we are placing American lives at risk. These cases galvanize the national attention and, ideally, require us to come to a consensus about what we should do.

This session invites participants to test the principles and ideas that emerged in the previous sessions against real-life situations. We have selected four conflicts which, as of this writing, involve US military force to some degree. Each has a different level of military involvement and risk, and each involves a different set of US goals - humanitarian interests, promoting democracy, protecting what the US defines as "security interests." In each of these, the United States is working with other countries and/or the United Nations to try to resolve the conflict through negotiation and economic pressures. As of this writing, those efforts have not been successful.

Each of these conflicts is described briefly below, and in more detail in the *ACCESS Resource Briefs* enclosed at the back of this booklet. If another conflict is receiving national attention at the time of your discussion, provide your group with current information.

Depending on the size of your study circle, you may wish to divide the group into four smaller groups, each of which will consider one of the conflicts, followed by a sharing and discussion time for the entire study circle.

Whatever conflicts you discuss, keep in mind that for some of America's men and women in uniform - and their families and loved ones - these conflicts are not theoretical. For, in the cases described below, we have already sent our military personnel "in harm's way."

Bosnia. The war in Bosnia is entering its third year. Both diplomacy and economic sanctions have thus far failed to end the fighting or the atrocities. There are now about 25,000 UN peacekeeping forces on the ground, primarily from Britain, France, and other NATO countries. The UN commander has requested many more to implement UN resolutions on "safe zones" and to keep supply routes open. The US has limited its military support to the use of air power to enforce "no fly zones" that prevent aerial bombardment of Bosnia. Would increased US military presence help end the war's atrocities? Should military force be used to keep supply routes open and to protect refugees?

Haiti. Close to US shores, Haiti's suffering fuels a flow of refugees to neighboring countries, including the US. A brutal military coup deposed the freely elected president of Haiti, whom the US has pledged to restore. Negotiations between the deposed president and the coup leaders have failed to produce a solution. US military action is currently limited to enforcing an economic blockade and intercepting Haitian refugees *en route* to the US. Should the US increase its involvement (military or otherwise) to force a solution to the prolonged crisis?

Korean Peninsula. The Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) that divides North and South Korea is one of the most heavily armed borders in the world. More than one million troops, including 35,000 Americans, face each other on opposite sides of the DMZ. The

US is pledged to protect South Korea from invasion by the North. The US also strongly opposes North Korea's apparently successful efforts to acquire nuclear weapons. How important is it to the US to stop North Korea's nuclear weapons program? Should the US continue to guarantee the security of South Korea?

Somalia. In December 1992, the US sent tens of thousands of troops to Somalia as part of a UN mission to restore order and protect relief workers who were responding to a famine which threatened a million Somali civilians. A few months later, under UN leadership, the US changed its mission and tried to arrest General Aidid, a prominent faction leader whose forces allegedly attacked and killed UN peacekeepers. As the US pursued this new mission, American troops began to suffer casualties. Responding to public opinion, US officials announced that all US troops would be withdrawn by March 1, 1994. The responsibility for peacekeeping troops has been left to other UN member nations, several of whom are also withdrawing their forces. Some people fear that anarchy and famine will again threaten Somalia. Was the US right to send troops in 1992? Are we right to withdraw? What goals in Somalia, if any, are worth putting American lives in harm's way?

Discussion Questions for Session 3

1. *What's at stake?* Considering some of the reasons which might justify risking American lives in global conflicts (vital national interest, humanitarian concerns, defending democracy), which of these (or other) reasons do you believe are at stake in Bosnia? Haiti? Korea? Somalia?

2. *Military Force.* Do you believe there are reasonable grounds for using force in Bosnia, Haiti, Korea, and/or Somalia?

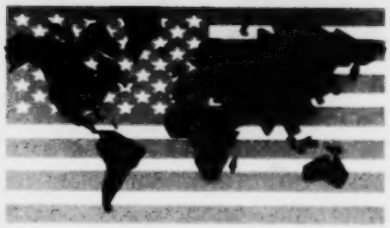
3. *US military involvement.* Do you believe that the US has a reason to be militarily involved in Bosnia, Haiti, Korea, and/or Somalia? Would you change the level of current US military involvement in any of these cases? If so, how?

4. Are we justified in risking American lives by getting involved in some or all of these situations? Are we justified in not getting involved?

5. *The role of the US.* In all of these cases, the US is working with other countries to try to resolve the situation. Sometimes the US has taken a leadership role, and sometimes we are supporting the efforts of others. Do you think the US is playing the right role in Bosnia? Haiti? Korea? Somalia? What change would you like to see in the US role, and why?

6. Which, if any, of these conflicts is our business?

7. *The bottom line.* What would you call a "success" and what would you call a "failure" of US involvement in each of the four conflicts?



Session 4

Who is Responsible for Dealing with Conflicts Around the Globe?

Bosnia, Somalia, Haiti, Korea - these or other conflicts may be making the news at the time of your discussions. Whatever the conflicts of the moment, it is certain that we and others in the world will continue to face the question of how to deal with them.

The previous sessions have focused on whether the use of force can be justified and on the role of the US and its armed forces in dealing with conflicts around the globe. The purpose of this session is to broaden the conversation to include the larger world picture: *Who*, if anyone, should take the responsibility for world conflicts? Other nations are grappling with conflicts in their regions and trying to decipher their role. In today's interdependent world, we are all affected to some extent by world conflicts.

New challenges in a changing world. As historian Gaddis Smith recently pointed out, just when the world seemed to be getting simpler, "the world's troubles were numerous and painful beyond endurance. The February 7, 1993, *New York Times* listed violent conflicts in 48 countries, omitting several others. Where was the worst hell - Bosnia, Armenia, Zaire, Haiti?"

Each of the conflicts taking place around the globe is unique. Each has its own history, dynamics, and context, and has been influenced by the world outside its borders. In fact, many have taken on renewed vigor since the end of the Cold War. The spread of advanced weapons - even nuclear weapons - adds an ominous dimension to some of these conflicts. Only a few of these conflicts have been well documented by the Western media.

Every corner of the world is experiencing some form of ethnic or religious strife. In fact, most current wars are "civil wars," but each has led to thousands of deaths. Many of them are related to ethnic, religious, and tribal differences, and some threaten to expand to outlying regions. Does anyone - whether the UN, the US, a regional power, or a regional organization - have the right to intervene in the internal affairs of any country, even one that is mistreating its ethnic or religious minorities?

Whose responsibility? Does any nation or group of nations have the responsibility - or the willingness - to deal with world conflicts? Especially in conflicts that seem uncontrollable and increasingly violent, who, if anyone, should take the lead in determining what to do? Whose responsibility is it to take action, including going to war if that seems necessary? How should the burden be shared? Should some conflicts just be left to run their course?

The US? With the end of the Cold War, Americans disagree about the extent of our global responsibilities. This is especially true in light of the Gulf War, Somalia, and Bosnia. Some argue that the United States has a unique role because of its military and economic power and the legacy of its moral leadership. Having won the Cold War, it can take an active leadership to help create a safer, more just world. This does not mean, they say, that the US should go it alone - it should build coalitions with other nations. But if the US doesn't take the lead, no one else will.

The UN? Others argue that now is the time for the United Nations to take the kind of world leadership that was envisioned in its charter. The end of the Cold War ends the stalemate between two opposing camps that paralyzed the UN. The UN has gained more prominence and has had some successes in peacekeeping operations. It has also had difficulties in fulfilling some of its missions. What, if anything, should be done to strengthen UN capabilities? For example, UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali has proposed a

standing UN military force that could take rapid action to prevent or stop conflicts within countries.

Other nations? In this new era, should we be thinking in terms of spreading out the responsibility for dealing with conflicts around the globe? Maybe there is too much to expect just one nation or international organization to take the lead. Some would argue that for too long the US has been expected to "take care of the world," and that the UN is too unwieldy to be effective. Let others take some responsibility, they say.

In this time of great uncertainty about *what* should guide national and international decisions, the question of *who* should take the responsibility for dealing with world conflicts has a new importance. In this session we lay out three answers to the question of "Whose responsibility?" as a way for you to compare and contrast their implications for the United States and the rest of the world. Briefly:

View 1 - The United Nations should be strengthened so that it can take the primary responsibility to intervene in world conflicts.

View 2 - Regional organizations should be encouraged and strengthened to take the primary responsibility for intervening in conflicts in their regions.

View 3 - The United States should take the primary responsibility for intervening in world conflicts.

Three views for discussion

The following views are not necessarily mutually exclusive of each other. We present them not to polarize your discussion but to help your group weigh the pros and cons of the major strands of thought that are surfacing in current debates about intervention in world conflicts.

View 1 – The United Nations should be strengthened so that it can take the primary responsibility to intervene in world conflicts.

The opening words of the United Nations Charter dedicate it to saving succeeding generations from "the scourge of war, which . . . has brought untold sorrow to mankind." Supporters of this view argue that, if the UN is going to be able to accomplish this mission, it must have a standing international army that is empowered to intervene in conflicts. Otherwise, the UN has no way to enforce its decisions. The United Nations has proposed such a force, and it is time for the United States and other nations of the world to strongly support the plan.

Even when the United Nations had its hands tied during the Cold War, it successfully intervened in many conflicts - through its diplomatic efforts and through its use of peacekeeping forces to act as buffers between warring parties. Now that more nations are solidly behind the UN, we can strengthen its diplomatic efforts. Now is also the time to entrust it with the power to rapidly and actively intervene in world conflicts and counter aggression wherever it occurs. By pooling the resources of the industrial democracies, no one country would have to shoulder the burden. Also, a UN force would include people from any and all member states of the UN, making all countries responsible for conflict intervention. The requirement of agreement by the UN Security Council will help to ensure that a conflict will be judged from a variety of views and that the decision on how to proceed will be a reasonable one.

What this view requires of the United States and other nations:

- Investments of money and other resources to establish the infrastructure of such a force.
- Active participation in coming to an international consensus on how to deal with world conflicts.
- The willingness to risk the lives of citizens who are in the UN force to respond to conflicts that may not be seen as vital to particular national interests.
- Placing some national armed forces under UN commanders, who will at times be from a different country.

Some critics of this position would say:

- Since many current conflicts are internal ones, this kind of international force would too easily and too often violate national sovereignty.
- This would entail the surrender of too much national autonomy to an international body.
- In reality, the United Nations will frequently intervene to protect the status quo, when it believes it is intervening to "keep the peace." (This criticism is often voiced by Third World countries.)

View 2 – Regional organizations should be encouraged and strengthened to take the primary responsibility for intervening in conflicts in their regions.

Regional involvement and leadership is essential to the real resolution of any conflict, since every country in the world is so heavily influenced by its neighbors and by its relationships with its neighbors. Supporters of this view argue that the nations in the region of a conflict, usually working through regional security organizations, are in the best position to intervene. The nations of the region are most apt to detect a conflict early in its development, to view it in its complexity, to engage in preventive diplomacy, and to take military action if diplomacy fails. Also, they are more capable of approaching the conflict with an understanding of the cultural and historical nuances.

This is probably the most difficult of the views to imagine since security arrangements would vary from region to region, but supporters of this view argue that its more decentralized approach is its strength. In fact, they say, one overarching "world policeman" will not work. In the case of the United Nations, the task of reaching agreement is too cumbersome and therefore only the most extreme crises are likely to be addressed. Neither will it work for the United States to act as world policeman, since our interests may not coincide with what is best for the countries involved.

There are signs that regional organizations are beginning to take on this role. For example, NATO and the European Community are struggling with what to do in Bosnia and have played a leading role in trying to negotiate the peace there. Also, we have turned to Somalia's neighbors to help negotiate an end to that conflict; and the Organization of American States has played an active role in trying to resolve the stalemate in Haiti.

While these efforts have been halting and unsuccessful as yet, that lack of success is only a reflection of the transition taking place in world politics. Regional interventions can work, and now that the Cold War is over, we have the opportunity to bolster existing regional security arrangements and to build new ones. Regional international organizations such as NATO are seeking ways to revitalize their charter, and this is the kind of responsibility they should take.

What this view requires of the United States and other nations:

- The willingness to put monetary and diplomatic resources into encouraging regional security efforts.
- The willingness to let regional groups take the lead in conflict intervention, even when it may run counter to perceived particular national interests of larger world powers.
- Helping to make conflict prevention a priority, because in the long run prevention is cheaper.

Some critics of this position would say:

- This will not work in regions of the world that are dominated by "bullies," or that have a history of regional antagonism rather than cooperation.
- Regional parties may be least capable of taking leadership in resolving conflicts because of their very closeness to the situation at hand. As with domestic disputes, there may be the need for a so-called "neutral party" to become involved.
- This approach is a recipe for frequent meddling in the internal affairs of other countries, and no one country or group of countries has the right to do that.
- This calls for costly and ongoing involvement around the world. At times the cost will outweigh what might be gained; also, there are many times when nations should be left to work out their own solutions.

View 3 – The United States should take the primary responsibility for intervening in world conflicts.

The United States is the only power in the world that can reliably and effectively step in when force is necessary. It should take this responsibility because it alone has the strength and the ideals to carry it out. Even in the one instance in history in which the UN took military action to confront aggression (the Korean War), in reality the United States was the one to take the lead. The Gulf War, often thought of as a UN action, was actually a US-led coalition that implemented UN resolutions. But this is as it should be - while the US should not be the world policeman, it is the world leader.

Taking this responsibility will be costly, and the US should try to enlist the assistance of others, whether through regional organizations (like NATO, the European Community, or the Organization of American States) or the United Nations. But since it is a global power, its interests will often be at stake, and it should take a leadership role whenever possible. When it comes to regional powers taking responsibility, the US should exercise caution since there are certain vital regions of the world in which US influence is still necessary. It should not become just "one voice among equals" in deciding how the UN will confront world conflicts. Even though it may seem that traditional power politics has ended, it has not. As new powers emerge, they may pull the United Nations in their own direction; the US should stay away from any arrangement that might take away its freedom of action.

What this view requires of the United States:

- A close watch on the conflicts around the world, and US engagement in diplomacy in every region.
- A restructuring of our military forces to better implement peacekeeping efforts.
- Our willingness to risk the lives of the men and women in our armed forces for conflicts that sometimes seem removed from our vital interests.

Some critics of this position would say:

- This is a time when we need to redirect our resources away from foreign policy to domestic concerns. Taking primary responsibility for intervening in world conflicts would keep our resources focused on the outside world at a time when we can ill afford it.
- If we start playing this role now, other nations will come to expect it and will not take their share of the responsibility. We saw this in the Cold War, when Europe and Japan allowed us to bear a disproportionate share of the defense burden. We shouldn't let that happen in today's world.
- This option presumes that what is good for the US is good for the world, and vice versa. In reality, the United States (like any other nation) has intervened primarily on its own behalf. This will continue to be the case, and we should not expect that the US will differ from any other country in this respect.
- At this point in history we have the tendency to think of ourselves as having the responsibility to "take care" of the world. The atrocities in several recent conflicts make us want to act. Instead, our focus should be on emerging threats to our own security, such as the threat posed by Iran. Even though the Soviet Union has disintegrated, other powers around the world are emerging to threaten us.

Discussion Questions for Session 4

1. Of the views described, is there one that you think provides useful general guidelines for who should take primary responsibility? Or, is the answer dependent on the situation?

2. Some people argue that no one should take primary responsibility for intervening in world conflicts, because no nation or group of nations can be trusted with that kind of power. Do you agree? Why or why not?

3. Does the United States have a special responsibility to intervene in conflicts? Under what conditions? Why or why not?

4. If the United States does have a special responsibility, what does its responsibility include? Does it include taking the lead in persuading other countries to work out their conflicts? Does it include having its armed forces at the ready to intervene in situations which may not seem resolvable in any other way? How much would that responsibility involve the US in preventive diplomacy?

5. If the US thinks that a particular conflict must be resolved through force, should it intervene militarily even if the United Nations does not approve? When, if ever, should the US seek approval from the United Nations and when, if ever, should it act unilaterally?

6. How will conflicts be handled differently depending on who takes the responsibility?

7. Each day, important problems and conflicts call for attention from citizens and policymakers around the globe. Why is it that certain ones receive great media attention, while others that seem just as compelling on humanitarian grounds do not receive much attention? What role does that play in decisions about whether to intervene?

8. Are there certain nations - for example, the wealthiest nations or the nations that have a history of democracy - that have a special responsibility to intervene in some or all of the conflicts in the world? Why or why not? Does the fact that one nation contributed to another's problems call for special responsibility?

A summary of current wars

Location & identification of conflict	Civilian & military deaths since beginning of conflict	Date conflict began
Latin America		
Columbia - Government vs. civilians in "drug wars"	22,000	1986
Guatemala - Government massacre of Indians	140,000	1966
Peru - Shining Path vs. government	26,000	1983
Europe and Former USSR		
Armenia vs. Azerbaijan	7,000	1989
Georgia - Ossetians vs. government	1,000	1992
Georgia - Abkhazians vs. government	1,000	1992
Moldova - Ethnic conflict	1,000	1992
Tajikistan - Communists vs. Muslims	20,000	1992
Turkey - Kurd rebellion and government crackdown	5,000	1984
Former Yugoslavia - Croatia: civil war	25,000	1991
Former Yugoslavia - Bosnia: civil war	120,000	1992
Middle East		
Iraq - Kurd & Shiite rebellions and government crackdown	10,000	1991
Asia		
Afghanistan - Factional fighting	5,000	1991
India - Ethnic & political violence	18,000	1983
Sri Lanka - Tamils vs. Sinhalese vs. government	32,000	1984
East Asia		
Burma - Rebels vs. government	7,000	1985
Philippines - Muslims vs. government	35,000	1972
Philippines - Communists vs. government	40,000	1972
Africa		
Angola - Civil war	300,000	1975
Burundi - Tutsi massacre Hutu	8,000	1988
Ethiopia - Eritrean revolt & famine	575,000	1974
Kenya - Ethnic violence	1,000	1991
Liberia - Rebels vs. rebels vs. government	20,000	1990
Mozambique - Civil war & famine	1,050,000	1981
Nigeria - Ethnic violence	5,000	1991
Rwanda - Tutsi vs. Hutus	2,000	1992
Somalia - Civil war	355,000	1988
South Africa - Political & ethnic violence	15,000	1983
Sudan - Civil war, south vs. government	506,000	1984

Ruth Leger Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures 1993*, (Leesburg, VA: World Priorities). This piece was adapted from a table entitled "Wars and War-Related Deaths, 1945-1992." The publication uses as its definition of war "any armed conflict involving one or more governments and causing the death of 1,000 or more people per year."

Annotated bibliography for Session 4

On the kinds of conflicts emerging in the post-Cold War world:

"As Ethnic Wars Multiply, US Strives for a Policy." *The New York Times*, 7 February 1993, p. A1.
Examines the question of what US and UN policy should be as ethnic wars multiply. Provides a useful summary of current conflicts.

Seymore II, Bruce, editor. *The ACCESS Guide to Ethnic Conflicts in Europe and the Former Soviet Union*. Washington, DC: ACCESS: A Security Information Service, 1994. [Call (800) 888-6033 for information.]
A very useful desk-top reference to key issues in re-emerging conflicts. Contains profiles on the conflicts, an essay on nationalism and ethnic conflicts, an international directory of organizations, maps, and other resources.

On the question of whose responsibility:

Bloomfield, Lincoln P. "Policing World Disorder." *World Monitor*, February 1993, pp. 34-37.
Argues that ideas of peacekeeping are expanding, with new possibilities for collective rather than US unilateral responsibility. Lays out a useful spectrum of possible threats and responses.

Holt, Pat M. "America Needs a Clear Policy On Helping Nations in Distress." *The Christian Science Monitor*, 7 January 1993, p. 19.
Argues that it is not enough to say the US will act only in concert with the UN; the US first has to decide what it wants the UN to do.

Hall, Brian. "Blue Helmets, Empty Guns." *The New York Times Magazine*, 2 January 1994, pp. 19-25, 30, 38, 41 & 43.
A readable account of what UN peacekeeping forces are trying to do, and why it's difficult for them to carry out their mission.

"Intervention: The Lure - and Limits - of Force." *World Press Review*, March 1993, pp. 9-13.
Cover story. Reprints of several perspectives from around the world on the changing nature of world conflicts and who should be responsible for intervening. Focuses especially on peacekeeping and on the growing use of more active peacekeeping: "peace enforcement."

Klare, Michael T. "The New Challenges to Global Security." *Current History*, April 1993, pp. 155-161.
Argues that it remains to be seen whether international organizations are up to new challenges, or whether conflicts will be allowed to grow because of international inattention, inactivity, and indecision.

Maynes, Charles William. "A Workable Clinton Doctrine." *Foreign Policy*, Winter 1993/94, pp. 3-20.
Argues that the US needs a "new yardstick" to regain control of the international agenda, something between the two competing approaches of "global preeminence" and "traditional isolationism." A thoughtful argument (in the vein of this session's View 2) that the international community should seek diplomatic assistance from countries in the region of a conflict.

Smith, Gaddis. "What Role for America?" *Current History*, April 1993, pp. 150-154.

Argues that the Clinton administration will be the first in a half-century to face really difficult choices in determining America's role in the world.

"Super Power? The World Sees US Leadership in Tatters." *World Press Review*, December 1993, pp. 8-13.

Cover story. Reprints of several perspectives from around the world on the US pullout from Somalia and its hesitancy to intervene militarily in Haiti. Primarily criticisms of waning US leadership.

"The UN Empire: Polished Image, Tarnished Reality." Reprint of a four-part series by members of The Washington Post Foreign News Service. Available free from the Foreign News Desk of The Washington Post, 1150 15th St., NW, Washington, DC 20071.

Examines the growing number of tasks facing the UN (including conflicts around the world) and the variety of ways it is attempting to achieve them.

"The US Tests the Uncharted Waters of a World Order in Which It Is the Lone Remaining Superpower." *The Christian Science Monitor*, 7 April 1993, p. 3.

Discussion of the US role in the post-Cold War world. Presents a variety of views about whether the US should try to prolong its preeminence. Will a world without US primacy be a world with more violence and disorder?

Waltz, Kenneth. "The Emerging Structure of International Politics." *International Security*, Fall 1993, pp. 44-79.

A theoretical look at the post-Cold War world by an interesting and important international relations theorist.

"Who will fight for the world?" *The Economist*, 30 January 1993, pp. 15-16.

Argues for an important role for NATO in peacekeeping.

A Typical Study Circle

In a study circle, 5-15 people meet several times to discuss the various choices our society or their organization might make concerning a social or political issue. Complex issues are broken down into manageable subdivisions, and controversial topics are dealt with in depth.

Each discussion lasts approximately two hours and is directed by a well-prepared study circle leader whose role is to aid in lively but focused discussion. Participants generally receive material to read in advance of each session.

Two individuals, the organizer and the leader, are central to the creation of a study circle. The study circle organizer selects the reading material that forms the basis for discussion, recruits participants, arranges the logistics of the meetings, and chooses the discussion leader. The study circle leader stimulates and moderates the discussion, helping the group identify areas of agreement and examine areas of disagreement.

Below is an outline for a single study circle session. When several sessions are put together into a program in which each discussion builds upon the previous ones, the result is a very fulfilling, enriching educational experience.

1. Introductions. Start by giving group members the opportunity to briefly introduce themselves. Even if you've met several times already, at least go around the room to give names.

2. Ground rules. Remind everyone of the ground rules for study circles. Be more elaborate in your first meeting, but even in subsequent meetings the leader can provide a brief reminder by saying, "My role is to keep discussion focused and moving along. Your role is to share your concerns and beliefs and to listen carefully to others. You should be willing to examine your own beliefs in light of what others say."

3. Small groups. Unless your study circle is already very small, you can start the discussion of the topic at hand by dividing the participants into small groups of three to five people. Give each group the task of preparing a brief presentation of the best possible case for one of the positions, views, or options presented in the material. This may call for a considerable degree of role playing, but it helps ensure that a variety of ideas will be considered in the discussion. When time is called, the small groups reassemble to make their presentations. Questions should be limited to requests for clarification.

4. Discussion and deliberation. This part of the study circle, devoted to wide-open discussion, should occupy the bulk of the time. Encourage participants to explore their true beliefs as opposed to those that were assigned in the small groups. If one of the views is ignored by the group, the leader should make sure that it receives a fair hearing.

5. Summary and common ground. Even if there is little agreement, encourage participants to review their discussion and try to identify common ground. They may, for example, have common goals even though their ideas for proper means for reaching those goals vary widely.

6. Next steps. Give participants the opportunity to discuss how they could become further involved in the issue. Be sure they at least consider writing to their elected representatives, and perhaps to the local newspaper.

7. Evaluation. Some type of evaluation should take place at the end of each session, even if it's as simple as going around the room giving people the opportunity to say what they liked and didn't like about the discussion. The staff of SCRC would greatly appreciate your taking the time to write a brief evaluation of your program, especially noting how SCRC resources helped and how they could be improved.

Organizing a Study Circle

The study circle organizer is the creator of a study circle. This person plans a general scheme for the meetings and selects written material. The organizer also recruits participants, arranges the logistics of the meetings, and chooses the discussion leader. Throughout the process of creating a study circle, the organizer sets the tone for the enterprise and must convey its purpose and goals to the leader and to the participants.

Whether you are organizing a large-scale program or a single local study circle, you will need to make basic decisions about the focus of your program.

• **Who will be the participants in your study circle?** The answer to this question may be obvious if you have a sponsor for your program such as a civic organization; your church, synagogue, or mosque; or your employer. Friends and neighbors are likely choices if you have no sponsoring organization. In either case, ask potential participants to make a commitment to attend each session, not only for the sake of continuity, but also to create a high level of familiarity and comfort within the group. You may need to press participants to get a firm "Yes, I'm coming." Figure on some dropouts from among those who say "Probably."

• **How much flexibility can you allow for participants to determine the direction of the program?** In an ideal study circle, participants greatly influence the program and can help answer many of the remaining logistical questions. This can most easily happen when the participants naturally gather together, for instance at church or at work, and can come together briefly to discuss what they'd like to see happen in their study circle. This ideal is hard to achieve, though, when the participants are not familiar with each other or with the study circle process. If your study circle meets for several sessions, however, participants will be more willing and able to influence the direction of the program as it progresses.

• **What will you distribute for reading materials?** You are welcome to photocopy pages from this booklet and distribute as needed provided you credit the Study Circles Resource Center as their source. Will you use all of the sessions found in this booklet? Will you distribute all of the material, or pare it down to just the introductory page or two for each session? Will you supplement with some of items found in the bibliographies? Do you want to distribute some recent clippings that provide up-to-date information? These decisions, of course, should be made in conjunction with the discussion leader. Unless your choice of reading material is very brief, you'll need to make arrangements for sending it to participants before your first meeting.

• **How many times will your group(s) meet? When and where?** Do you need to condense the program, or do you think the participants you plan to recruit will be willing to meet several times? When planning when and where to meet, bear in mind that time and place will largely determine, or be determined by, the potential participants. Two-hour weekly meetings are ideal, but be creative. How about breakfast or lunchtime discussions, or before or after church services or other meetings?

• **Who will lead the group(s)?** This may be the most important decision you make. A bad leader can ruin a study circle and a good one can make it a wonderful experience. You'll want to find someone whom you have seen in action, or who comes highly recommended.

Remember, above all, that there is no one model for organizing a study circle: shape the program in your community to meet the needs of the sponsoring organization and the participants.

Leading a Study Circle

The study circle leader is the most important person in determining the program's success or failure. It is the leader's responsibility to moderate the discussion by asking questions, identifying key points, and managing the group process. While doing all this, the leader must be friendly, understanding, and supportive.

The leader does not need to be an expert. However, thorough familiarity with the reading material and previous reflection about the directions in which the discussion might go will make the leader more effective and more comfortable in this important role.

The most difficult aspects of leading discussion groups include keeping discussion focused, handling aggressive participants, and keeping one's own ego at bay. A background of leading small-group discussions or meetings is helpful. The following suggestions and principles of group leadership will be useful even for experienced leaders.

• **"Beginning is half," says an old Chinese proverb.** Set a friendly and relaxed atmosphere from the start. A quick review of the suggestions for participants will help ensure that everyone understands the ground rules for the discussion.

• **Be an active listener.** You will need to truly hear and understand what people say if you are to guide the discussion effectively. Listening carefully will set a good example for participants and will alert you to potential conflicts.

• **Stay neutral and be cautious about expressing your own values.** As the leader, you have considerable power with the group. That power should be used only for the purpose of furthering the discussion and not for establishing the correctness of a particular viewpoint.

• **Utilize open-ended questions.** Questions such as, "What other possibilities have we not yet considered?" will encourage discussion rather than elicit short, specific answers and are especially helpful for drawing out quiet members of the group.

• **Draw out quiet participants.** Do not allow anyone to sit quietly or to be forgotten by the group. Create an opportunity for each participant to contribute. The more you know about each person in the group, the easier this will be.

• **Don't be afraid of pauses and silences.** People need time to think and reflect. Sometimes silence will help someone build up the courage to make a valuable point. Leaders who tend to be impatient may find it helpful to count silently to 10 after asking a question.

• **Do not allow the group to make you the expert or "answer person."** You should not play the role of final arbiter. Let the participants decide what they believe. Allow group members to correct each other when a mistake is made.

• **Don't always be the one to respond to comments and questions.** Encourage interaction among the group. Participants should be conversing with each other, not just with the leader. Questions or comments that are directed to the leader can often be deflected to another member of the group.

• **Don't allow the group to get hung up on unprovable "facts" or assertions.** Disagreements about basic facts are common for controversial issues. If there is debate over a fact or figure, ask the group if that fact is relevant to the discussion. In some cases, it is best to leave the disagreement unresolved and move on.

• **Do not allow the aggressive, talkative person or faction to dominate.** Doing so is a sure recipe for failure. One of the most difficult aspects of leading a discussion is restraining domineering participants. Don't let people call out and gain control of the floor. If you

allow this to happen the aggressive will dominate, you may lose control, and the more polite people will become angry and frustrated.

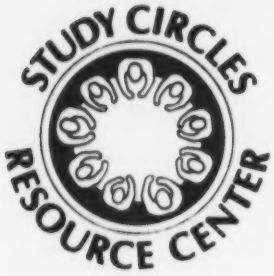
• **Use conflict productively and don't allow participants to personalize their disagreements.** Do not avoid conflict, but try to keep discussion focused on the point at hand. Since everyone's opinion is important in a study circle, participants should feel safe saying what they really think - even if it's unpopular.

• **Synthesize or summarize the discussion occasionally.** It is helpful to consolidate related ideas to provide a solid base for the discussion to build upon.

• **Ask hard questions.** Don't allow the discussion to simply confirm old assumptions. Avoid following any "line," and encourage participants to re-examine their assumptions. Call attention to points of view that have not been mentioned or seriously considered, whether you agree with them or not.

• **Don't worry about attaining consensus.** It's good for the study circle to have a sense of where participants stand, but it's not necessary to achieve consensus. In some cases a group will be split; there's no need to hammer out agreement.

• **Close the session with a brief question that each participant may respond to in turn.** This will help them review their progress in the meeting and give a sense of closure.



Suggestions for Participants

The goal of a study circle is not to learn a lot of facts, or to attain group consensus, but rather to deepen each person's understanding of the issue. This can occur in a focused discussion when people exchange views freely and consider a variety of viewpoints. The process - democratic discussion among equals - is as important as the content.

The following points are intended to help you make the most of your study circle experience and to suggest ways in which you can help the group.

• **Listen carefully to others.** Make sure you are giving everyone the chance to speak.

• **Maintain an open mind.** You don't score points by rigidly sticking to your early statements. Feel free to explore ideas that you have rejected or failed to consider in the past.

• **Strive to understand the position of those who disagree with you.** Your own knowledge is not complete until you understand other participants' points of view and why they feel the way they do. It is important to respect people who disagree with you; they have reasons for their beliefs. You should be able to make a good case for positions you disagree with. This level of comprehension and empathy will make you a much better advocate for whatever position you come to.

• **Help keep the discussion on track.** Make sure your remarks are relevant; if necessary, explain how your points are related to the discussion. Try to make your points while they are pertinent.

• **Speak your mind freely, but don't monopolize the discussion.** If you tend to talk a lot in groups, leave room for quieter people. Be aware that some people may want to speak but are intimidated by more assertive people.

• **Address your remarks to the group rather than the leader.** Feel free to address your remarks to a particular participant, especially one who has not been heard from or who you think may have special insight. Don't hesitate to question other participants to learn more about their ideas.

• **Communicate your needs to the leader.** The leader is responsible for guiding the discussion, summarizing key ideas, and soliciting clarification of unclear points, but he/she may need advice on when this is necessary. Chances are you are not alone when you don't understand what someone has said.

• **Value your own experience and opinions.** Everyone in the group, including you, has unique knowledge and experience; this variety makes the discussion an interesting learning experience for all. Don't feel pressured to speak, but realize that failing to speak means robbing the group of your wisdom.

• **Engage in friendly disagreement.** Differences can invigorate the group, especially when it is relatively homogeneous on the surface. Don't hesitate to challenge ideas you disagree with. Don't be afraid to play devil's advocate, but don't go overboard. If the discussion becomes heated, ask yourself and others whether reason or emotion is running the show.

• **Remember that humor and a pleasant manner can go far in helping you make your points.** A belligerent attitude may prevent acceptance of your assertions. Be aware of how your body language can close you off from the group.

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